THIS IS NEGRO HISTORY WEEK: 3 PAGES OF SPECIAL FEATURES . . . pp. 5-7

United Nations photo

"Facing the rising sun of our new day begun . . ."

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
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WAR & PEACE

Western alliance torn as Washington's policy increases peril of war

By Kumar Goshal

THE last ten days' events in the Formosa Strait and in W. Europe showed the further crumbling of Washington's anti-communist alliance, as the danger was sharpened of a war nobody was willing to fight. Differences with British public opinion over Far East policy had become a "chasm," said London's **New Statesman** (2/5), which warned that the NATO alliance under

Vicky in New Statesman & Nation, London

which the U.S. maintains bases in Britain might be in jeopardy as a consequence of the events around Formosa. The absurdity was becoming plainer throughout the West of trying

". . . to pursue 'co-existence' and 'peace' while all the elements that might lead to 'discord' and 'war' are kept alive, while the rearmament of Germany and the 'protection of Formosa' are retained as fundamental aspects of American foreign policy" (Alvarez del Vayo, York **Gazette & Daily**, 1/29).

On Feb. 3 Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, replying to the UN Security Council's invitation, emphasized how "especially intolerable" it was that his government, representing 600 million people, was "deprived of its legitimate position and rights in the UN" which are "usurped" by Chiang Kai-shek. Rejecting the invitation, Chou said he would send a representative if the Security Council ousted the Chiang delegate, recognized People's China, and agreed to discuss the Soviet resolution condemning U.S. aggression against China and calling for U.S. withdrawal from Formosa Strait.

NANTUCKET CHOWDER: Chou's rejection was no surprise to anyone slightly aware of the Far Eastern situation. Premier Nehru and the Indian people, for example, expected it. Walter Lippmann considered it (2/8)

". . . wishful thinking to suppose that the Chinese government, which has won the civil war on the mainland, would appear as a non-member before the Security Council in which China is represented by a faction that is no longer on the China mainland."

The **New Republic** (2/7) commented:

"When Peking is solemnly invited

(Continued on Page 3)

IN THIS ISSUE

Beginning . . .

AFRICA

The Giant Stirs

. . . a series by

W. E. B. DuBOIS

See Report to Readers and first article, p. 5

"FALSE WITNESS"

Justice Dept. tries to gag Matusow and seize his book

By Lawrence Emery

THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE seemed chiefly concerned last week with silencing Harvey Matusow, former professional witness who now admits having given false testimony. Government attorneys were thwarted twice in their efforts to summon him before a secret grand jury before he could appear in open court. This appearance is in connection with an affadivit in which he swears he lied at the trial of 13 Communist leaders now serving prison sentences under the Smith Act. But they did summon before a grand jury on Feb. 8 Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn, publishers of a forthcoming book by Matusow titled **False Witness.** The two men in a joint statement said:

"We believe that by hailing us before a Federal grand jury, the Justice Dept. is continuing its attempt to keep from the public the book's disclosures, some of which implicate the Department itself."

INTIMIDATION SEEN: First grand jury summons for Matusow called for his appearance on Feb. 3 just prior to an announced press conference called by his publishers, who said they regarded the action "as an effort to muzzle Matusow." That appearance was postponed by Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock, who presided at the trial of the 13 Communists and before whom a motion for a new trial based on Matusow's confession is pending.

Matusow was next summoned to appear on Feb. 8, but Judge Dimock ruled that he must not appear before a grand jury before he is questioned in open court. Harry Sacher, defense attorney for the convicted Communists, argued that the summons was not issued "in good faith" and charged that Matusow might be intimidated if forced to testify before a grand jury now.

In making his ruling, Judge Dimock advanced the date of a hearing on the motion for a new trial from March 10 to Thurs., Feb. 10.

THEY WON'T COMPLY: In their statement, Cameron and Kahn revealed that they were ordered, on pain of being "deemed guilty of contempt of court," to produce

". . . all correspondence, records, memoranda, receipts, cancelled checks, book accounts, contracts, memoranda of contracts and other documents and writings, and ALL manuscripts and drafts thereof and galley proofs, prepared by or in any manner relating to one Harvey M. Matusow, or relating to a proposed book or other writing written by, or purportedly written by one Harvey M. Matusow, which is to be published by you, or the publication of which is being considered by you, or in the publication of which you have any interest."

TESTIMONY TO ORDER
NO JOB TOO SMALL
YOU NAME THE VICTIM
WE DO THE REST
ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSIONAL EX-COMMUNISTS
WE CAN REMEMBER ANYTHING TO FIT ANY WORD RATES
INFORMER MATUSOW CONFESSES PERJURY

Herblock in Washington Post

"This could spoil the racket, men."

The publishers said they regarded this demand as "a flagrant attempt to subvert the freedom of the press" and as an invasion of the First Amendment protecting that freedom. They declared:

"As publishers and as American citizens, we feel that it is our solemn duty to see that the right of freedom of the press is not abridged in this case. Therefore we do not intend to comply with the brazen dictates of the subpenas which have been served upon us. We will not submit to the Justice Dept. for its scrutiny or would-be censorship the text of Matusow's book prior to its publication, nor will we permit its seizure. Nor will we allow ouselves to be intimidated into not publishing the book."

PUBLIC PROBE ASKED: They concluded their statement:

"We have said before, and we repeat now, that we welcome a public investigation of all the revelations in Matusow's book. We are, however, opposed to any **in camera** [secret] proceedings such as the Dept. of Justice is attempting to conduct, and we strongly believe that the investigation of the book's disclosures should be conducted by some government body less prejudiced in this matter than the Justice Dept."

The two men were directed to ap-

(Continued on Page 9)

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THE MAIL BAG

Second Emancipation

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Decent Americans are shocked in reading reports about gross physical violence against Negroes—lynchings, bombings, arson and floggings. But if in 1955 no such crimes occurred, America would still be stained by an all-pervading blight from which not one state of the union is free. This is the discrimination which makes of over 15,000,000 Negroes second-class citizens. It is psychological and spiritual lynch-law against their human rights and dignity, imposed for a reason which is as senseless as it is cruel—color of skin.

This burden lies heaviest on the hearts and minds of Negroes. But what a tragic illusion for any white citizen to believe that he escapes its poisonous effects—the results are as unselective as those of an atomic explosion.

What does it do to us, who are not Negroes? It is a "divide and rule" technique against workers, weakening their solidarity in meeting encroachments on their rights—an economic consequence.

We are the poorer in every field of culture, science and technology in denying so richly endowed a group the unfettered opportunity to develop their gifts for our common good. That a handful of Negroes have attained distinction is not a measure of the endowments of over 15,000,000 people. It is but an inspiring example of how the human spirit can triumph over almost insurmountable obstacles.

"The child is father of the man"—and educated to the acceptance of discrimination: its noxious influence persists (if only residually) among the most enlightened. It handicaps Negroes in our courts of law, in Supreme Court decisions, in the Armed Forces, in our churches, in housing—in every phase of life in this country. Over and over we see instances of otherwise law-abiding citizens who have no compunction in breaching the law provided that the victims are Negroes.

The achievement of this Second Emancipation commands the loyal, untiring efforts of us all—to make our country a democracy "in spirit and in truth." Muriel I. Symington

How crazy can you get dept.

If, since 1848, all the books, magazines, news articles, government records, of the whole world, indicting communism as an evil, could be assembled and housed, they would probably fill all the libraries in Southern California. . . . Why has it been able to continue in face of such writings against it? Simply because the money power is in the hands of the Reds. . . . Without rich capitalists, bankers and business men supporting communism, it would never have advanced nor succeeded.
—Hollywood Citizen-News, Feb. 1.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: L. Zarawicz, Los Angeles.

Head of the class

GREAT NECK, N. Y.

So many GUARDIAN readers are doing their share in sending in contributions for the Belfrage case that I decided to pitch in and help too. I'm a high school student who knows she can learn more from what the GUARDIAN has to give than from terrifying fairy tales in a current events class. There are very few progressive-thinking students here so it is quite difficult for me to express my opinions freely. The paper serves as a kind of storehouse where I can accumulate the knowledge of what is really going on.

You're doing a terrific job from this reader's end and I'm proud to contribute my $10 to a wonderful and worthy cause.

Bonnie Sue Schub

Question of Formosa

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Men who are willing to substitute common sense for power politics should sit down and scan maps of China and the U. S. Suppose an island nearly the size of Holland lay a little more than 100 miles off our eastern coast and was in possession of an enemy determined to use it for attack on us. This would be serious. But suppose that in addition other small islands lay right on our coast, and had been seized and fortified by our enemy, with Chinese military officers and equipment on these islands. Also, that these islands have repeatedly been used for armed attack on our mainland. No great nation today would for a moment endure such open aggression. These facts in themselves would have been in the past ample cause for war.

Add to this the fact that Formosa for nearly 300 years has been universally recognized as Chinese and in Chinese possession, save when it was forcibly seized by Japan in 1895 and held 50 years. After the Second World War the Allies deprived Japan of Formosa and declared that it belonged to China. The question certainly arose as to whether Chiang Kai-shek or the Communist regime was the real Chinese state. Most of the civilized world recognized the Chinese People's Republic as the real China. The fact that the U. S. insists that six million people on Formosa constitute China while 600 million on the mainland are not only to have no recognition, but not even to be treated as respectable, may be justifiable to some. But surely to add to that the threat of war unless this great Chinese Republic should acquiesce in allowing a discredited man like Chiang to camp on their door step and bomb them at will—this no decent administration can ask.

By what far-fetched logic can Formosa, on the opposite side of the earth from us, be regarded as necessary for the protection of our western border? Does it protect our Philippines? But we just announced the independence of the Philippines. Does it protect our Japan, or does Japan belong to the Japanese? Do we simply pretend to own the earth?

Instead of clinging to such an untenable position why could not the President of the U. S. say clearly: "We ask that the island of Formosa remain undisturbed at present, eventually to be disposed of in accordance with the decision of the International Court of Justice. All other islands, we agree, shall revert to the Chinese People's Republic. We recognize this republic as the government of China, entitled to a seat in the United Nations. We will neither aid nor abet war or hostilities between China and Formosa."

This would be the greatest step toward a peaceful world since Hitler's death. And what would we lose? To such an overture there can be no doubt but that China would assent. Of her legal right to Formosa there is no doubt. She will never surrender that right. But if without surrender, she is asked to await peaceful processes and at the same time is treated in other and vital respects as a civilized nation, she will sacrifice immediate war for peace and work with the civilized world to maintain it.

W. E. B. DuBois

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"I thought the Senate outlawed one-man hearings."

Book of Job

INGLEWOOD, CALIF.

We are numbered among the 1954 Hoover-Dulles-Benson-Brownell - Eisenhower administration casualties. We had two droughts and a disastrous barn fire. And, confronted with state laws that provide no protection for tenants vs. landlord, we borrowed to liquidation after 40 years of struggle and disillusionment.

Oh yes, we were patriotic: we furnished five stalwart sons and two sons-in-law to the Navy. We were recompensed by the bottom dropping out of the market. Twenty cent eggs—10 cent hens. Cows dropping from $250 to $75. Taking a 75% discount on farm machinery, etc.

"And they all cried with one voice, saying: Great is Diana of the Ephesians." I refrain from further comment lest I be found in violation of the moral code of the Pentateuch. C. I. Stratton

On charity

HAVERHILL, MASS.

Many questions arise in the reader's mind about the actual role of religion when he reads how the religious expect to correct social ills by means of private charities, which obtain the money, etc., by begging and then distribute.

The idea of remedying poverty and its causes by the simple appeal to the rich to share their wealth with the poor is an idea that is medieval. Yet the devotees of certain creeds never seem to progress to any more realistic point of view or any more adequate ideology than this same distribution of private charity.

Haverhill reader

Atomic religion

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Here's an item of Americana that seems worth relaying to you:

Sunday evening, Jan 23 I heard a sound truck going through our neighborhood in San Francisco. When it passed, blaring noisy music (not a hymn), I could see the sign hanging on the side:

"Win Uranium Shares;
"Your Share at—Church Bazaar."

Lincoln Kelly

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"In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Dec. 1, 1862.

REPORT TO READERS

DuBois on Africa

THE PLEASURE IS ALL OURS—and yours, too, of course—that the great and good Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois is presenting through the GUARDIAN his findings and views on the freedom struggle seething in Africa today. Certainly our country's foremost expert on African affairs, Dr. DuBois at 87 has led the way for much of the past half century in enlightening the world on the barbarism and exploitation which has been Africa's portion at the hands of plundering civilizations.

Now, from Morocco to the Cape, Africa is in ferment against colonial status and oppression by the white world. Dr. DuBois' GUARDIAN series, begun in this Negro History Week issue, will continue in ten instalments this winter and spring, covering in detail the various situations throughout Africa. It is Dr. DuBois' purpose, and ours, through this survey, to draw as much attention as possible to the world significance of Africa's struggle.

WE HOPE you will share Dr. DuBois' series with your friends; and for this purpose we give you this short memorandum on the author's equipment for his task:

Historian, humanitarian, poet and diplomat, holder of degrees from a dozen universities in this country and Europe, Dr. DuBois was a founder of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and for many years its secretary and editor of its publication, **Crisis.** A participant in the World Race Congress in London in 1911, he organized Pan-African Congresses in Paris, London, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919, 1921 and 1923.

He was consultant in 1919 and 1921 during the founding of the League of Nations, participated in the first League Assembly in Geneva, and later served as special U. S. Minister to Liberia. He was a special consultant and participant at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco and, later in 1945, took a key part in the Pan-African Congress in London.

You owe it to yourself to read his book **The World and Africa** (Viking Press, 1947, $3), available in most libraries. It will surely jar you—as it was intended to—to recognition of Africa's foundation-stone (as well as foot-stool) relation to what we call modern civilization.

WE WELCOME ALSO, for a one-week turn, a leading lady of the New York theater in the person of Alice Childress, whose pungent and pointed dialogues have been a continuing feature of Paul Robeson's paper, **Freedom**, since its inception. Miss Childress' irrepressible monthly column (see p. 7) is one more excellent reason why you should subscribe to **Freedom** (monthly, $1 a year; 139 W. 125th St., New York 27).

—THE EDITORS

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THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

THAT UNCLE SAM'S GOT MIXED BLOOD! HE'S PART INDIAN-NEGRO-SPANISH-SLAVIC-GREEK-JEWISH AND ETCETERA. HE AIN'T ALLOWED TO STAY ON A CLOUD IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD!
SAYS WHO?
SAYS THE LOUISVILLE TRUE BLUE-BLOOD & BLUE-GRASS REALTORY BOARD — AND ME, THE UPPER CLASS AMERICAN EAGLE!
OH YEAH?
YEAH! WANNA HEAR ME SCREAM?
YEAH- SCREAM LIKE AN UPPER-CLASS EAGLE-
KAW-KAW-KAWLING ALL KLUCKS!
MY HANDFUL OF PINK CARDS SAYS OPEN WITH ONE OF THESE WRITING FEATHERS-
AND WITH EVEN MORE COLORS IN MY BLOOD THAN SAM, I NEVER TRY TO PASS! MY ANTI-MALTHUSIAN FULLHOUSE BETS ANOTHER FEATHER —
UP TWO CAUSE I'M WORKING ON A STRAIGHT BLUSH —
K K K
COPR. 1955, ROBERT JOYCE

Three of a kind

The Braden story

A Louisville newspaperman met some people who couldn't buy a house because they were Negroes. So Carl Braden bought it and then sold it to them. KKKlucks bombed the house, Ky.-Klucks sent Braden to jail for 15 years for "sedition." He lost his job. Good Kentuckians are fighting for his freedom, for an end to Kentucky jim-crow. They have moral support; they need $$$. Address: Mrs. Anne Braden, P.O. Box 1302, Louisville 1, Ky.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

to debate [the status of the off-shore islands] and to accept the will of Guatemala and Denmark on their disposition, her reaction is about what ours would be were we invited to a UN debate on the international status of Nantucket."

WHERE IS IT? While UN marked time, Secy. Dulles created utter confusion in pressing Congress to ratify the U.S.-Republic of China (Chiang) mutual aid treaty. According to the N.Y. **Times'** James Reston (2/7), Dulles was ready to tell the Senate that ratification would not give Chiang "legal sovereignty over Formosa and the Pescadores," nor would it cover the off-shore islands of "Matsu and Quemoy as part of the Republic of China." Since it has been denied that Washington plans to attempt restoring Chiang to the China mainland, the question hung in the air: What and where is the "Republic of China" with which the U.S. has signed a treaty?

Louisville Courier-Journal
PRO AND CON

On the "hint" that Washington plans to hold Quemoy and Matsu to bargain with Peking, and might surrender them to Peking in return for Peking's acceptance of Chiang over Formosa, the **New Republic** commented:

> "In other words we will surrender possession of territory that has never been ours if China will surrender her claims to territoy we have held [through the Cairo declaration, for example] to have been hers. That is doubtful morality for a nation which preaches morality in international relations, and is deplorable politics."

From New Delhi the London **Observer** reported (1/30) Nehru's feeling

> ". . . that if the Americans are bluffing, Quemoy and Matsu are too vulnerable and not suitable as the subject of a bluff, and that if . . . the Americans are serious then they are 'criminal' in being ready to risk a world war over these two islands."

MAN ON A "LEASH": Chiang, however, had no doubts about the status of Quemoy and Matsu. He justified the evacuation of the Tachens on the ground that most of his troops would be re-deployed to strengthen his control over these two islands; his UN representative Dr. Tsiang was "certain" that his government "cannot and will not evacuate Quemoy and Matsu" and "will accept no compromise."

Going even further, Chiang declared (**UP**, 2/4) that Formosa has already entered a "state of war" and that the day for "launching a counter-attack on the mainland is drawing near." And according to Drew Pearson (2/7), Dulles told Senators behind closed doors

> ". . . if they didn't vote for Eisenhower's joint resolution to retaliate against China, we couldn't count on Chiang as being on our side a year from now."

Walter Lippmann pointed out (2/7) that, according to Washington's American and Chinese informants in Formosa, the "fragile" Chiang government would collapse if "the practical hope of a return to the mainland" were cut off; and this is "the real reason for the costly and dangerous fuzziness about the off-shore islands." Yet a decision not to support Chiang's attempt to return to the mainland would mean he was not the ruler of China and not entitled to China's UN seat. Lippmann concluded:

> ". . . So we find ourselves unable to draw a clear line or take an intelligible position that can command the support of world opinion."

EVERYONE WANTS OUT: At GUARDIAN press time, the evacuation of 30,000 Chiang troops and civilians from the Tachens continued under the protection of "the mightiest American naval and air armada assembled since the height of the Korean war [and] deployed within sight of the China coast" (**NYT**, 2/8). **Newsweek** (2/7) reported an impressive volume of "sincere and spontaneous" mail flooding the White House Capitol, which

> ". . . ran heavily against the President's request for power to use U.S. forces even for the protection of Formosa. Most of it argued for peace at any price short of actually jeopardizing U.S. territory."

In London, Labour leader Attlee said Peking should be given Formosa and China's UN seat, and the U.S. withdraw from Formosa Strait. This "extremism," said the **New Statesman** (2/5),

> ". . . expresses the feeling of three-quarters of the nation [which is] convinced that the main responsibility for the Formosa crisis lies in Washington, not in Peking. . . ."

It seemed clear that only a Geneva-type conference could break the deadlock over Formosa.

EXIT MENDES: In France Washington's policies took another setback with the fall of the Mendes-France government, which was under fire from almost every direction. The immediate cause was a 319-273 no-confidence vote on policy in N. Africa, where mild attempts at compromise with militant nationalists in Tunisia was as bitterly attacked from the Right as was the "systematic police torture of nationalists by [France's] Algerian Gestapo" from the Left (Claude Bourdet, **France-Observateur**, 1/13). Equally unpopular was Mendes-France's yielding in S. Vietnam to Washington, whose policies there are described by former Minister Rene Capitant as

> ". . . directly contrary to the interests and the undertakings of France . . . [and] cannot end with anything but the disaster already encountered in China."

Assembly members' shame for the abdication of French sovereignty was probably greatest over the W. German rearmament vote forced through by Mendes-France, which the new crisis will make harder to put across in the Senate.

A month ago **Cahiers Internationaux** (Jan., 1955), commenting on Mendes-France's "extortion" of Assembly approval of W. German rearmament, had predicted his government's downfall:

> "To bring off his design he stooped at nothing, dissimulating or denying the gravest dangers, lying with the most sincere air, conjuring away the unresolved contradictions between Paris and Bonn so pregnant with future dangers . . . [Mendes-France] fails to understand that . . . to govern a country against its ideals, its will, its interests, at the mercy of considerations and pressures from abroad, can be the act of a pasha, a gauleiter, a quisling, never that of a national leader. . . ."

MORE TROUBLE: While former Premier Antoine Pinay tried to form France's twenty-first government since 1945, in W. Germany Mendes-France's fall was a blow to Adenauer; the Free Democrats and the all-German bloc, members of his coalition, strongly urged him to postpone ratification of the rearmament agreement. On Jan. 22, nearly one million coal and steel workers went on strike as a warning against the consequences of remilitarization. A rally of the Social Democratic Party, which together with the trade unions urges priority for four-power negotiations, was attended by 20,000, the largest attendance at a political rally in post-war W. Germany.

Opposition to W. German rearmament continues to grow hourly in Germany and throughout Europe since the Jan. 15 Soviet note agreeing to "internationally-supervised free all-German elections."

Drawing by Dyad, London
"Look out, chaps—it's swinging back."

The Moscow story

A SWARM of pundits and the biggest headline type since the death of Stalin were brought out to report and analyze the resignation of Georgi M. Malenkov as Premier of the U.S.S.R., announced before the Supreme Soviet in Moscow Feb. 8. Nikita S. Khrushchev, first secy. of the Communist Party, nominated Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin, "one of the closest brothers-in-arms of the continuer of Lenin's cause, Stalin" to replace him. Malenkov said he felt "another comrade with greater experience in state work" was needed for his job, particularly to "overcome the lagging behind in agriculture." After the change of Premiers was approved, all the top Soviet leaders attended a concert at the Bolshoi Theater except Foreign Minister Molotov, who had just delivered a strong speech on foreign policy claiming Soviet superiority in atomic power and proposing that the U.S.

> ". . . compete not in the manufacture of atomic weapons but in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes."

Comment by Tabitha Petran on the Soviet policies reflected in Malenkov's resignation, and on Molotov's speech, will be in next week's GUARDIAN.

Only two asked to be heard

On Feb. 8 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hastily voted 11-2 in favor of the U. S.-Republic of China (Chiang) mutual defense treaty, with Sens. Langer (R-N. D.) and Morse (Ind.-Ore.) dissenting. Morse denounced the treaty as greatly increasing "the risk of war in Asia . . . not a treaty with Formosa [but] with Knowland."

Only the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party requested time to testify at the Committee "hearing." In a message to Committee chairman Sen. George (D.-Ga.) on Feb. 8, PP secy. C. B. Baldwin wrote:

> "On Feb. 1 we requested . . . time to appear before the Committee to offer testimony relating to the so-called mutual defense treaty with Nationalist China. On Feb. 7 we received a telegram from your committee that we could be heard briefly at 3:30 p.m. the same day. [Obviously] this did not allow sufficient time to prepare testimony on this important subject. . . .
>
> "Today the Clerk of the Committee . . . advised [me] that the hearings were not public and . . . had been closed. . . . A well-established custom in the Senate for years has been to give ample public notice of hearings . . . to permit those who want to testify for or against any treaty to be heard. The failure of your Committee to follow this time-honored procedure is a clear indication of your desire to secure approval . . . before the public has had an opportunity to be heard.
>
> "We urge that the Committee reconsider its action and hold adequate public hearings. . . . The approval of any treaty with Chiang Kai-shek will only serve to heighten the existing tension in the Far East and make it more difficult to negotiate a cease-fire agreement as well as increase the likelihood of a third world war. Please incorporate this message in the record and advise us what action is taken with regard to re-opening this hearing."

Calling the brains of America — before it's too late!

The following letter, published in the N. Y. Times of Feb. 6, was written by Leo Szilard, brilliant nuclear physicist. With Enrico Fermi, Szilard in 1942 devised the chain reaction system composed of uranium and graphite. He is a professor at Chicago University.

IN 1913, one year before the First World War, H. G. Wells wrote a book, "The World Set Free." In this book, he describes the discovery of artificial radioactivity and puts it in the year 1933, the very year in which it was discovered. This is followed, in the book, by the development of atomic energy for peacetime uses and atomic bombs. The world war in which the cities of many nations are destroyed by these bombs Wells puts in the year 1956. After the devastation of a large part of the world an attempt is made to set up a world government which very nearly fails but in the end, somehow, miraculously succeeds.

It sems that all of these predictions—even the dates—may prove to be correct; for now it would appear that 1956 is the year most likely to see the advent of atomic war.

It would take much imagination and resourcefulness—no less perhaps than went into the development of the bomb itself—to devise a settlement that would resolve the power conflict between Russia and the United States and would not only postpone the next war, but create a situation in which war would not be likely to occur again. But up until now the public discussion of these issues has moved at a level of political thinking at which no solution is possible at all. So far neither the Government nor anyone else has presented even the principles on which an adequate settlement could be based.

IF WE HAVE no concept of a real solution, almost any course of action can be argued, for and against, endlessly and inconclusively. Some military leaders seem to advocate that we take armed action in the Pacific while it is still possible to keep Russia, through the threat of "massive retaliation," from intervening on a large scale. If we accept the premise that it is not too late for a preventive war and if we are willing to devastate China to such an extent that recovery may take one or two generations, then there may be nothing much wrong with the reasoning of these men, except that they leave God out of their equations.

According to press reports, Admiral Radford suggested in September that Chiang Kai-shek be permitted to bomb the mainland of China in defense of Quemoy Island and that the United States agree to intervene in the support of this action if necessary. At that time President Eisenhower vetoed this proposal. In doing so the President followed his instinct, and his instinct is to strive for peace.

It is generally known that the President ardently desires to keep the country out of war. He believes that a satisfactory general agreement could probably be drafted that the Russians would be likely to accept. But he does not know how to make sure that the Russians would keep such an agreement, and he is therefore unable to steer a clear course which offers a chance of leading to peace. With many of his advisers in favor of taking calculated risks and having an early showdown, how long can the President be expected to hold out?

THE DAY on which we bomb the Chinese mainland—say in defense of Quemoy or Matsu—is likely to turn out to be the first day of the Third World War. Those who think that the course of such a war can be predicted in any way are, I believe, sadly mistaken. The war might very well end with the devastation of Russia and perhaps also of the United States, to the point where organized government in these two countries would cease to exist.

THEY DON'T WANT TO INVADE THE MAINLAND

Farmers on Formosa go about their work as an American Air Force C-124 Globemaster unloads supplies for the 18th Bomber Wing which has taken over some of their farmland. They may not be intellectuals, but they know only too well what Dr. Szilard means.

At the time of this writing it appears quite possible that we may have a reprieve. But such a reprieve can be only a short one. For we have now advanced close to the point of no return, and one of our next groping steps—unguided by a clear concept of the road to peace—could very well carry us beyond that point. This result to me seems indeed unavoidable unless the men within our Government who are shaping our policies will soon begin to see clearly some course of action that may lead us out of the present impasse.

To remove the instability inherent in the power conflict between Russia and the United States will take a far-reaching agreement that will settle all major outstanding issues. Such an agreement, if it offers Russia, ourselves and several other nations, strong continuing incentives for keeping it in operation, can create a setting in which the chance of war may be regarded as remote. Only in such a setting is it possible to dispose of the controversial issues which loom so large today. No progress can be made toward this goal piecemeal.

TO OUTLINE such an agreement in some detail will require the kind of imagination and resourcefulness that cannot be expected from the Government. In our political system the intellectual leadership needed here can arise only through private initiative.

Our only remaining hope is, I believe, that under the sponsorship of universities, research foundations, and, above all, committees of citizens set up for the purpose, it may be possible to gather at this late hour several groups of highly qualified men who will think through the problems that are involved. Some of these groups might perhaps succeed in outlining for us in some detail, within the next few months, the kind of international arrangements that we could trust.

The problem lies not so much in working out all the details as in finding the right principles from which the details would follow more or less automatically. The details can wait, but reaching a meeting of minds on the basic principles cannot. Only groups of like-minded men who can agree at the outset on basic premises can hope to come up with something really constructive that may catch—as it must—the imagination of the public, Congress and the Administration.

I am fairly confident that with the right kind of sponsorship to provide the necessary moral and financial support the men needed to carry out this work could be found. We have great resources in men of ability, devotion and—yes, even courage; and such men would make themselves available in response to the proper invitation.

Will sponsorship, however, be forthcoming soon enough and on a sufficient scale? True, we are now faced with a clear and present danger, and it is in such times that patriots may rise to the challenge. But will there be men willing to assume responsibility when nobody in particular has assigned them such responsibility? This of course, I cannot say.

I am certain of one thing only. Unless we find the right answers soon war will come; and maybe in the final analysis it will come because there was too much patriotism in the U. S. and too few patriots.

Leo Szilard

New York, Feb. 2, 1955.

A little boy was left waiting on a pier

The following letter from Helen Sobell describes her experiences as she reached San Francisco with her son Mark, 5, for a visit with her husband.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

MY HUSBAND, Morton Sobell, has been denied his visit with me. First our visit together with the children was curtly stopped as we were about to board the boat to Alcatraz. Then the Warden refused to permit me to have my regular visit. We went from happiness to sorrow in one afternoon.

My permission had read, "If you will bring this letter with you it will serve as a pass for you and your two children to visit your husband, Morton Sobell, Reg. No. 996-AZ, on Wednesday, Jan. 26, 1955, and again on Tuesday, Feb. 1, 1955." The letter is dated Jan. 19. It was signed by Warden P. J. Madigan.

I had explained to my 5-year-old Mark what the circumstances of the visit would be. After not having seen his father for more than two years he understood that he was to talk to his father on a telephone and see him through a small pane of glass. He had a very important question to ask his father. He needed an explanation of how toy electric trains work.

As we walked out on the Alcatraz pier we were politely asked some questions by a reporter and a photographer. I was surprised to see them on the pier since the area is a restricted one and specifically forbids trespass. I assumed they had been given permission to come there by the authorities. Mark and I went to meet the boat.

A guard stepped off the boat and handed me a note which read, "Your visit cannot be granted today." My first thought was that my husband was hurt, or ill. I called the Warden. He told me that he had been in touch with the Bureau in Washington and that there had been too much publicity. He was sorry to refuse my visit.

I called Mr. Bennett, the Director of Prisons, in Washington, to ask his help to realize my visit with my husband. He told me that I had not been co-operating with the Bureau of Prisons but had been soliciting pressure upon the Dept. of Justice and the Bureau of Prisons. He told me that if I persisted in my efforts on behalf of my huband and did not co-operate, I, myself, would not be permitted to visit. The press reported that I had accused Mr. Bennett of threatening to take away my visits and quoted Mr. Bennett's denial of any threat. The fact is that at this moment all of my visiting requests have been refused.

I did not feel that I could permit myself to be blackmailed into silence. My visits and my children are all that I have in this world. I can't bear the thought of losing my visits, but my husband must not be buried in the living death of Alcatraz. He is innocent, I know it, I must help him. The truth must be uncovered for all of our sakes.

Sincerely,
Jan. 31, 1955 **Helen L. Sobell**

The matter was taken before a Federal judge in San Francisco; he upheld the prison authorities. An appeal is now in preparation to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell (1050 Sixth Av., N. Y. C. 18) asks for an intensification of the "demand for Sobell's transfer from Alcatraz to a prison where there will be no question of his right to see his children."

To hear my children laugh

A message from Morton Sobell, Hero of Truth on Alcatraz, to Rosa Lee Ingram, Mother of Heroes, jailed for life in Reidsville, Georgia.

When I think of meeting my children, Rosa,
Face to face, after these prison years
I taste your tears of sorrow, tears of joy
And I tell you:
In the salt Red Sea sweated in rivers
Of toil and torrents of grief by your
People and mine, the new Pharaohs will drown:

Rosa Lee, Earth Mother, your image glows
Like a small flame in the eyes of women
Who strive to win truth, bread, and a rose
For the youngest child. Your fragrant image blooms
In a thousand cells of our western world
Where free men breathe in your love, and smile.

See! From shacks, barracks, and deserts new freedmen rise!
Far off, I see their lives like a staff struck
Against all stone walls by an immortal
To free life—fragrant, flowering, fruit-filled . . .
Today, on this Rock, where nothing grows, Rosa,
I fold you deep in an ancient heart
AND WAIT, LIKE YOU, TO HEAR MY CHILDREN LAUGH.

Isobel Cerney

BOOKS

Africa & India: an American and a British view

AN "awesome" awakening is sweeping the continent of Africa—the last great plunderland of imperialism. Since the U.S., by investing capital and building military bases, is rapidly gaining dominance in colonial Africa, it would be well for Americans to learn the truth about "the oldest and richest stamping ground of imperialism [where] millions of people are struggling forward at long last to demand a place in their own sun."

Although this book* by a London Daily Worker foreign correspondent deals largely with British Africa and South Africa, its basic points apply to other Western colonies.

GREAT STRUGGLE: In less than 100 pages Kartun has with remarkable comprehen-

sion traced the growth of colonialism in Africa from the slave trade to the present exploitation of raw materials and cheap (and sometimes forced) labor. He has omitted none of the salient facts of oppression and profits, nor of the African peoples' superhuman struggle for freedom; often he has illuminated these with stories from real life. This book, with an excellent introduction by Dr. Alpheus Hunton of the Council on African Affairs, is a welcome antidote to the biased books and slanted newspaper stories that conceal the truth about Africa from the American people. K. G.

**AFRICA, AFRICA! by Derek Kartun. 99 pp. International Publishers. $1.50 (paper, 75c).*

American in India

SAUNDERS REDDING, well-known American writer and professor at Hampton Institute, was thoroughly investigated and cleared by the FBI, then sent to India by the State Dept. "to win friends for America among the Indian people." His itinerary, lectures and social visits were arranged almost exclusively by U.S. officials.

He found widespread anti-Americanism among all political and religious faiths. As an eminent Negro scholar visiting a colored people, he was welcomed into even orthodox homes. Always he was asked questions about race relations in the U.S., about America's designs in Asia, its desire "to draw southeast Asia into a power bloc against Peking." The truth of many accusations stung him; some he could not answer, others he evaded. His book groans with frustration, personal pronouncements unsupported by facts and categorical statements favoring the U.S., unfavorable to Indians.

WILLIE McGEE: He was silent when Indians asked him about the Martinsville Seven, the Trenton Six, Willie McGee, the denial of a passport to Paul Robeson, why America made "a virtue of not getting along with Russia."

Queried during a lecture on American literature as to why Howard Fast was jailed, he replied: "I have read two of [Fast's] books and scanned a third. . . . I do not know what else to say about him."

In a discussion on capitalism and socialism he said, "Aren't all economic systems capitalistic? . . . In my country we have a competitive system of free enterprise. We like it that way."

Accused of pretending he did not know the U.S. wants something from India, Redding solemnly said, "Not from India. For India."

PREMIER NEHRU
His people asked questions

THE RED BRUSH: Exasperated by "Americans, Go Home" signs, Redding remarks without evidence that, while privately criticizing the British, "publicly the Indians flattered and fawned on even insignificant Britishers in the manner of some Southern Negroes with whites." He attributed all sharp questions to "communist" heckling, considered all strikes, mass meetings and demonstrations as communist-inspired.

He tried desperately to convince the Indians that their greatest danger was from Peking. He suspected that five fellow guests in a North India hostel were secret Chinese Communist agents because they looked Chinese and spoke to no one. Only proof of his accusations against China were statements by American writers who had "talked to people who escaped" from China.

WHY DID HE GO? When an Indian monk asked Redding to take a message of brotherhood to America, he declined, saying, "I am only an American, I am not America." "You can speak to America," the monk insisted. "No, I cannot," Redding replied. "Yet you presume to speak to India," the monk said calmly. No wonder Indians asked Redding if Washington sent him to India "because you're a good man, or because you're good propaganda?"

Listening to his report on India at the end of his journey, even the then U.S. Ambassador Bowles considered his picture overdrawn; but Redding thought it was "the opposite."

His book is subtitled "A Personal Report on the Indian Dilemma and the Nature of Her Conflicts." A more accurate subtitle would describe it as a report on his own tragic dilemma and his own conflicts. K. G.

AN AMERICAN IN INDIA. By Saunders Redding. 277 pp. The Bobbs-Merrill Co. $3.50.

AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS—A SERIES BY W. E. B. DuBOIS

American Negroes and Africa

By W. E. B. DuBois

Fred Wright in UE News Service

ONE of the curious results of current fear and hysteria is the breaking of ties between Africa and American Negroes. When we think of the help which Irish Americans have given Ireland; and how Scandinavia, Italy, Germany, Poland and China have been aided by their emigrants in the U.S., it is tragic that American Negroes today are not only doing little to help Africa in its hour of supreme need, but have no way of really knowing what is happening in Africa.

When the Cotton Kingdom of the 19th century built on black slavery led to a campaign in Church and Society to discount Africa, its culture and history, American Negroes shrank from any ties with Africa and accepted in part the color line. By the 20th century however, knowledge of Africa and its history spread in Negro schools and literature. Negro churches helped Africa, African students appeared here and movements looking toward closer ties with Africa spread. From the First World War to 1945 the Pan-African movement held international conferences to unite the Negro race in mutual aid, information and planning.

A council on African Affairs was formed in 1939 under the leadership of Paul Robeson, returning from his first visit to Africa. It soon had a membership of 2,000 whites and blacks. It collected a library and some specimens of African art; entertained visiting Africans and students, raised relief funds for starving Negroes in South Africa, issued a monthly bulletin and arranged lectures.

Then in 1949, without hearing or chance for defense, the Council was listed on the Attorney-General's "Subversive" list. It remained under attack and most of its support faded away.

VISIONS OF GOLD: In the industrial world the significance of Africa increased. Today out of Africa come 95% of the world's diamonds; 80% of the cobalt; 60% of the gold; 75% of the sisal hemp; 70% of the palm oil; 70% of the cocoa; 35% of the phosphates; 30% of the chrome and manganese; 20% of the copper; 15% of the coffee; an increasing part of the uranium and radium, and large amounts of tin, iron and spices.

Naturally American investment in Africa has increased: in the first half of this century it rose from $500 million to $1,500 million; South Africa asked us in 1949 for a loan of $50 million, eventually got nearly twice as much. Morgan, Rockefeller and Ford interests have been investing in South Africa, General Motors, Firestone, General Electric have followed suit. General Clay, who headed the "Freedom Crusade" among us, once also headed a mining company in South Africa which netted $9 million profit in three years.

In 1950 the U.S. Consul General to South Africa said: "This country has a greater future than almost any young country in the world." The vice-president of the largest U.S. railway-equipment manufacturer said South Africa had unlimited potentiality for development:

> "I can see it going ahead with great speed for it is so rich in so many kinds of raw materials. The South Africans are a great people."

VISIONS OF FREEDOM: The result of exploitation of Africa in the first half of the 20th century was revolt in the second half, from Tunis to the Cape of Good Hope. There has been demand for independence in Egypt and for autonomy in the Sudan; bloody rebellion goes on in Kenya; unrest and threats exist in Uganda; Ethiopia has regained independence and recovery of her sea coast; West Africa revolted in 1948 and today approaches dominion status in the British Empire for as many blacks in the Gold Coast and Nigeria as there are whites in England. Both France and Portugal are slowly admitting a black intelligentsia to full civil rights, while even the Belgian Congo which restrained Negro education will open a Negro university.

But in the Union of South Africa a white nation has determined on race subordination as a policy, and 2,600,000 whites are attempting to rule and exploit ten million blacks and colored. The Rhodesias are attempting to follow this policy in part. The looming struggle is of vast portent.

THE UNTOLD STORY: Meantime this current story gets small space in the Afro-American press with its 150 weekly newspapers circulating among two million readers. Four of the leading papers have from 100,000 to 300,000 readers each and are in the realm of Big Business, subject to the control of finance capital in advertising, allotment of newsprint and political influence. Political party funds are often available to swell income during elections, and their main support comes from readers who must not offend the Dept. of Justice and the FBI or they will lose their jobs. Meantime since the Second World War, 15 million American Negroes have sent less than $10,000 to help the struggles of 200,000,000 Africans.

On the other hand the Negro press discusses race relations in the U.S., news of the Negro group and personal items. Its chief demand for 150 years has been political, civil and social equality with white Americans.

THE BRIBE: Here they are advancing rapidly, and today it is clear that they have a chance to trade wide breaks in the American color line for acquiescence in American and West European control of the world's colored peoples. This is shown by the pressure on them to keep silence on Africa and Asia and on white working-class movements, and in return to accept more power to vote; abolition of separation in education; dropping of "jim-crow" units in our military forces and gradual disappearance of the Negro ghetto in work and housing. To this is added much long-delayed recognition of Negro ability and desert.

It is fair to admit that most American Negroes, even those of intelligence and courage, do not yet fully realize that they are being bribed to trade equal status in the U.S. for the slavery of the majority of men. When this is clear, especially to black youth, the race must be aroused to thought and action and will see that the price asked for their co-operation is far higher than need be paid, since race and color equality is bound to come in any event.

● *Next week: Ethiopia—an Emperor's Dangerous Game.*

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK SURVEY OF PROGRESS IN AMERICA

'Ninety Years Plus 10 Equals Freedom' — 8 years before

By Eugene Gordon

ON New Year's Day, 1953, a crusade to complete the emancipation of U. S. Negroes by Jan. 1, 1963, was begun by the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People. "Ninety Years Plus 10 Equals Freedom!" was the battle-cry. The ten-year deadline was set because it would round out a century since President Lincoln declared in his Proclamation of Emancipation that "all persons held as slaves within said designated [Confederate] states are, and henceforth shall be, free. . . ."

The crusade is a reminder that less than eight years from the Proclamation's 100th anniversary, even those slaves' great-grandchildren are not yet free.

Increasing domestic and foreign pressures, since the United Nations' coming to the U. S., have forced our government to yield the Negro more of his constitutional rights than during all the 82 years before. Yet today, separated from his goal by fewer years than the fingers of both hands, he is acutely conscious of the distance between where the Voice of America tells the world that he stands, and where he really stands. And he asks, hopefully but not without skepticism: Will these pressures compel his white government in eight years to surrender the Negro all his rights? In Negro History Week he is considering the question in relation to his fight for education, housing, employment and political representation.

THE DAY REASON TOOK HOLD IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL
The first non-segregated kindergarten class in Washington

Education: "greatest victory"

NEGROES GREETED the Supreme Court's decision against jimcrow schools as their greatest victory since slavery. Republican and Democrat politicians agreed that it proved ours to be the greatest democracy "the world has ever seen." Press, radio and TV commentators twitted "the Communists" as stricken dumb, their best civil-rights argument stifled in their throats. (Actually the **Daily Worker** immediately called for "honor to the individuals and forces who shared in winning [that] great victory for the camp of peace and democracy.")

The Voice repeated the decision 'round the clock" in 30-odd languages. Listeners in socialist lands were given a picture of Negroes entering unsegregated public schools throughout Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and S. Carolina with the same ease as in Harlem.

REALITIES: But **Southern School News, UP, AP** and **N. Y. Times** news reports added up to a different picture:

● IN ALABAMA white "Citizens' Councils intend to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates desegregation to find and hold a job, get credit, or renew a mortgage."

● "IN ARKANSAS, Negroes represent 24.1% of total school enrollment but only 12.5% of the value of school property is available to them. The difference between the average annual salary for white and Negro teachers now is about $400, but the disparity is much greater in some school districts." If the state education dept. can raise an additional $12,000,000 annually from state sources "to finance a minimum educational program which would include large steps toward equalizing salaries of white and Negro teachers and toward equalizing facilities for the two races," then Arkansas will try to maintain its "separate but equal" system.

● DELAWARE'S Supreme Court ruled on Feb. 8 that the Milford Board of Education had "no legal right" to admit ten Negro pupils to 10th-grade classes of a previously all-white school last September.

● IN FLORIDA's legislature a "duel" goes on between forces seeking action along lines followed recently in Mississippi—a constitutional provision against integration submitted to a statewide referendum—and those who would like legislative support for the principle of 'gradualism' as proposed by Atty. Gen. Richard W. Ervin in his brief to the Supreme Court."

● GEORGIA'S new Governor, S. Marvin Griffin, "has promised that . . . the state will never accept mixing of the races in the classrooms and will resist it with all resources." The Georgia Senate on Jan. 24 passed and sent to the House Griffin's bill withholding state money from any racially mixed school.

● LOUISIANA adopted in November a constitutional amendment allowing "segregation by using police power under the constitution 'to promote public health, morals, better education, peace and good order.'"

● Fewer than ⅓ of MISSISSIPPI's qualified electors voted Dec. 21 to ratify a state constitutional amendment "to vest the legislature with authority to abolish public schools if it takes that to prevent desegregation."

● IN S. CAROLINA a special commission will make recommendations to the legislature; official attitude is hostile to integration.

● IN TEXAS Gov. Allen Shivers "campaigned on a platform urging continued segregation," and State Atty. Gen. John Ben Shepperd "prays the U. S. Supreme Court to write a decree that will allow a long integration period plus authority for local districts to maintain control over schools."

● VIRGINIA's newly-formed "Natl. Protective Individual Rights, Inc." says it "respects" the Supreme Court decision while believing "integration should be left up to the states and individual communities, so that no psychological complex will be created for white children by forcing them into integration over night."

THE LONG NIGHT: NAACP documentary evidence that segregation, during the 90-year "over-night" period, had already created a "psychological complex" for three generations of Negro children was cited in the Supreme Court decision. Kenneth B. Clark, N. Y. City College asst. psychology professor who prepared that evidence for the NAACP, has shown that the white child likewise was scarred with a "complex" during the long night.

Anti-integration outbreaks last fall in Delaware, Dist of Columbia, Maryland and W. Virginia—with some states' Attys. General pleading for local control of the program, U. S. Atty. Gen. Brownell supporting them—influenced indefinite postponement of the how-and-when directive the court had promised. But the Negro children's "psychological complex" develops even outside the South. In Harlem, for instance, Clark told a parent-teacher conference recently, Negro children were being branded inferior by the education board's policy of giving the schools inferior treatment.

The Negro weekly Pittsburgh **Courier** (1/29) showed that the government, even where its authority was final, hadn't abolished segregation; for instance:

"The mask of 'cordiality' which cloaked jimcrow at Ft. McClellan's [Ala.] WAC center has been ripped off, revealing that integration on this huge post dedicated to the Army's women is actually a farce. Jimcrow has been kicking up his heels at dances on the post; participating in sports; seated at Ft. McClellan's barber shops; preventing fraternization off and on the post between Negro and white personnel."

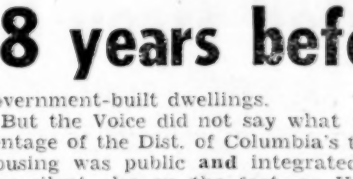
Negroes describing the May 17 decision as their greatest victory implied their general understanding of this historical fact, as expressed by Negro Macedonia Baptist Church pastor William L. Wilson to **AP** feature writer Bem Price:

". . . It is too bad the Negro has had to fight for everything he has received. The Southerners have given up nothing until they have had to."

Housing: the key

LISTENING recently as the Voice told about Uncle Sam's pampering of his Negro nephews and nieces, S. African Negroes—now to be exiled even from their cities' slums—must have longed to fly from their "free world" land to "free world" America. One detail in that mural of Negro well-being and contentment was that Washington public housing had been 93% desegregated. The S. Africans must have been overwhelmed if they misinterpreted that statement to mean 93% of Washington's Negroes were now in mixed government-built dwellings.

But the Voice did not say what percentage of the Dist. of Columbia's total housing was public **and** integrated. It was silent also on the fact, as Harry S. Ashmore's **The Negro and the Schools** reveals, that "Negroes comprise 60% of [Washington] slum dwellers," and 35% of the population. Nor were Africans



and Asians told that S. African novelist Alan Paton, then touring the U. S. for **Colliers**, pinpointed housing as

". . . a key to the problem of integration of the Negro into the life of America, [because] there is hardly a community in America where the purchase of a house by a Negro in a 'white' section does not cause resentment leading at times to violence."

MR. COLE'S FOOT: Incidents like this explain Paton's point:

● Cicero, Ill., police refused to protect postal worker Harvey E. Clark Jr. and his property from mobs in July, 1951; conspired to keep the Clark family from moving into a "white" section. Though Chicago's housing authority in 1950 declared "the state of Illinois makes it a criminal offense" to discriminate because of race or nationality, the 462-apt. Trumbull Park project has been under continuous hoodlum attack since Mr. and Mrs. Donald Howard moved in on July 30, 1953. Noted scientist Dr. Percy Julian, Oak Park, Ill., lives under constant threat of bombing. Two Negro families settling down in the Norfolk Va., suburb Coronado last September have been shot at sporadically.

● The white Carl Braden helped the Negro Andrew Wade family buy a house in a Louisville (Ky.) restricted area. The Wades' new home was promptly bombed, and Braden has been sentenced to 15 years in jail for "sedition" in helping his friends.

The Voice meanwhile broadcasts Federal Housing Administrator Albert M. Cole's "concern" about the housing difficulties "facing minority families" and his pledge of "unprecedented action" to improve the situation. But until Cole "puts his foot down and rules that the government will no longer guarantee loans to builders who discriminate" (Baltimore **Afro-American**, 11/13/54), the Negro house-hunter can view the administrator's concern "as so many fine-sounding but meaningless words."

If Cole has put his foot down, nobody has heard it.

Pious in Arkansas State Press
"Has found no champion in the 84th Congress."

Tapley in Amsterdam **News**, N. Y.
Bird Havens

e the goal

INTEGRATION ROADBLOCK: Harlem's reputation as a vast firetrap is enhanced by such facts as were dug up by the Jan., 1946, **Architectural Forum,** showing 3,871 persons in one tumbledown block and arithmetically proving that "at a comparable rate of concentration the entire U.S. could be housed in half of New York City." In Baltimore, 20% of the population are Negroes; they occupy 2% of the housing. In Chicago, 90,000 Negroes live in one sq. mile compared to 20,000 whites in one sq. mile of an adjacent district.

Eight years from the freedom deadline the Negro asks: Suppose the Voice broadcasts about school integration were true. Since the court decision implied that Negro children and white children would go to the schools nearest them, to what extent could actual integration be realized? For jimcrow housing means jimcrow schools; the government is doing almost nothing to abolish jimcrow housing; and private industry—according to Washington NAACP director Clarence Mitchell—"has no intention of providing housing on a non-segregated basis."

Jobs: "precarious position"

INTEGRATED public schools are improbable without integrated housing, public and private; any kind of housing depends on income; income depends on jobs. The Voice broadcasts truth when—telling Africa and Asia about President Eisenhower's appointing a Negro asst. secy. of Labor—it says Negroes

have contributed to America's material wealth. Since 1565 when they helped build our first city—St. Augustine, Fla.—they have been our basic labor force. U.S. shipping and mining industries started with Negro laborers, who were 20,000 strong in the United Mine Workers as early as 1900.

Natl. Urban League industrial relations director Julius Thomas said recently that although the Negro "during the last 15 years" had steadily improved his "precarious position in several important industries," vast areas still excluded him. Yet most employes admit that, given similar opportunities, Negro workers and white workers are similarly competent. Negroes are seldom given such opportunities.

LAST IN THE LINE: AFL's approximately 750,000, CIO's 450,000, and UMW's and other independent unions' 300,000 Negroes have the same benefits as white members. Union membership is required for employment in plumbing, electrical trades, printing, structural steel; but Negro membership is discouraged, if not denied, in many AFL metal trades and craft unions. Segregated unions in the South force Negro-white competition for the same jobs. A Negro sometimes is employed only after the white union brother has been taken care of. Ill-will results.

The Voice, when telling about the 5,925,000 U.S. Negro workers' rights to jobs and to union membership, must keep out of the South completely and tread warily in the North. As Donald J. Dewey, Duke University's asst. professor of economics, wrote for the Negro press last Labor Day, Southern industry is seldom if ever pointed to as a "showpiece" of U.S. economy; and those who brag of our bountiful supply of 'phones, college graduates and washing machines gingerly skip over the Southern scene.

Two in every three Negroes still earn their livings in the South—the hardest way, for the color-bar still keeps Negroes from well-paying jobs in industry. Full employment occasionally creates shortage of white male workers; it is then the white woman's chance. If she doesn't want it, the Negro man may have it. In S. Carolina, white male factory workers in 1953 averaged $2,940; white women, about ¾ of that. Negro men averaged 68% of what white men earned; Negro women, 44%. The Negro city worker outside the South averaged in 1950 $1,869.50; his white neighbor $3,445—the Negro, 54% less. Individual Negroes outside Dixie averaged $1,300, about 52% of their white neighbors' $2,500.

THE CURTAIN: Negro workers leave the South to escape official jimcrow and improve their general conditions. But in the North, except where Fair Employment Practice legislation functions, they often run into official indifference when they seek work. The "unholy alliance" of the Dixiecrat Congressional bloc and Northern opponents of FEPC prevents enactment of a Federal law. President Truman's complaint in 1953 that industrial and commercial firms "doing business with the Federal government" scorned non-discrimination clauses in contracts applies in 1955.

AFL Sleeping Car Porters pres. A. Philip Randolph last year told the Senate Labor subcommittee on discrimination that every Federal department, bureau, agency, board or commission, including the White House, had its jimcrow "iron curtain." He charged the government with limiting Negro employment to menial classifications "at a time when thousands of young Negro men and women are graduating annually from leading American colleges and universities."

Politics: "two nations"

ESTIMATING—as is customary—U.S. descendants of African slaves at 1/10 the total population, Negroes number about 16,000,000. That is three times the population of Denmark, more than five times that of Ireland, more than 1,800,000 above S. Africa's—and, in the words of **Business Week** (12/18/54), "a market of considerable proportions." The Commerce Dept. estimates the U.S. Negro income at $15 billion. That means, wrote Paton, "a figure said to equal that of Canada, certainly not one of the poor countries of the world."

Yet the direct representation of this "nation within a nation" in either national or local government is negligible. Only six Negroes have sat in the House (none in the Senate) since the last Reconstruction Representative was defeated in 1901; but the existence of such leaders as heads of colleges and universities and of thriving Negro businesses, fraternal organizations, churches and trade union locals proves the availability of thousands of qualified persons. Sources that could supply Negro executives and managers could provide also men and women to serve as state governors, attorneys general, treasurers, heads of bureaus and commissions.

The Negro press was unanimous in suggesting NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall and former Virgin Islands governor William H. Hastie to President Eisenhower when he was looking for a successor to the late Supreme Court Justice Jackson. The President nominated Judge John Marshall Harlan, whose grandfather, it was stressed, dissented as a Supreme Court Justice in 1896 against the "separate-but-equal" dictum.

DIXIE IN THE SADDLE: Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) in 1953 publicized his willingness to run for New York mayor. The machines' private reaction is not recorded; publicly, it was blank silence. Though Harlem and every other Negro area would have voted solidly for Powell, the completeness with which they were ignored told them they would take whoever was given them. Politically competent Negroes thereupon organized for and succeeded in getting one of themselves elected President of Manhattan Borough. Negroes won in scattered state, city and county campaigns in Arkansas, California, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York and Ohio. But, said the Natl. Newspaper Publishers Assn. (1/15), the elections brought these results, owing mainly to the Negro's political weakness:

> "The South is firmly in the saddle in this [84th] Congress. When President Eisenhower returned to Washington from Augusta, Ga., [after Christmas], he found the capital humming the tune, 'Save Your Confederate Money, Boys, the South Shall Rise Again.' . . . In the Senate the South will rule 8 of 15 major committees . . . it is in the key committees which handle civil rights that Southerners will exert their power."

For instance: Virginia's Howard W. Smith, banker, "gentleman farmer," lawyer, Smith Act author and avowed opponent of public housing, is Rules Committee chairman and can block special rules for considering civil rights legislation on the floor.

Southern Negroes are beginning to vote; but Alabama, S. Carolina, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia still use the poll-tax as a bar to the ballot, and most Southern states exclude Negroes with so-called literacy and character tests.

These are some of the most pertinent facts; what seem to be the prospects? If Negro citizens can be politically organized to force-march on the education, housing and employment fronts in the 1956 election campaign, they will be nearer realizing freedom by 1963. The road ahead looks long and steep; but novelist Paton believes it may "prove to be the whole South" and not just the Negro who will finally be freed.

N.Y.

Grey in Afro-American, Baltimore
Saboteur at work

Harrington in Pittsburgh Courier
"Er . . . I say . . . isn't that rather a large soup-pot our cullud scouts are using? Sort of gives one an odd feeling don't you think?"

CONVERSATION FROM LIFE

The day Marge almost dropped the beans all over the floor

Alice Childress' "Conversations From Life" appear in the Negro monthly Freedom. *Each "Conversation," in the rich language of a Negro domestic worker, mirrors her daily troubles and her hopes for a better world while commenting caustically on her employers' behavior. The author is a New York actress and playwright.*

By Alice Childress

MARGE . . . day's work is an education! Well . . . I mean, workin' in different homes, you learn much more than if you was steady in one place. . . . I tell you, it really keeps your mind sharp tryin' to watch for what folks will put over on you.

What? . . . No, Marge, I do not want to help shell no beans, but I'd be more than glad to stay and have supper with you, and I'll wash the dishes after. Is that all right? . . .

Who put anything over on who? . . . Oh, yes! It's like this. . . . I been working for Mrs. E, one day a week for several months, and I notice that she has some peculiar ways. Well, there was only one thing that really bothered me and that was her pocketbook habit. . . . No, not those little novels. . . . I mean her purse—her handbag.

Marge, she's got a big old pocketbook with two long straps on it . . . and whenever I'd go there, she'd be propped up in a chair with her handbag double-wrapped tight around her wrist, and from room to room she'd roam with that purse hugged to her bosom. . . . Yes, girl! This happens every time! No, there's **nobody** there but me and her. . . . Marge, I couldn't say nothin' to her! It's her purse, ain't it? She can hold it if she wants to!

I held my peace for months, tryin' to figure out how I'd make my point. . . . Well, bless Bess! TODAY WAS THE DAY! . . . Please, Marge, keep shellin' the beans, so we can eat! I know you're listenin', but you listen with your ears, not your hands. . . . Well, anyway, I was almost ready to go home when she steps in the room hangin' on to her bag as usual, and says, "Mildred, will you ask the super to come up and fix the kitchen

Freedom, N.Y.

faucet?" . . . "Yes, Mrs. E," I says, "as soon as I leave." "Oh, no," she says, "he may be gone by then; please go now." "All right," I says, and out the door I went, still wearin' my Hoover apron.

I just went down the hall and stood there a few minutes, and then I rushed back to the door and knocked on it as hard and frantic as I could. She flung open the door sayin', "What's the matter? Did you see the super?" . . . "No," I says, gaspin' hard for breath, "I was almost down stairs when I remembered . . . I LEFT MY POCKETBOOK!"

With that, I dashed in, grabbed my purse and then went down to get the super! Later, when I was leavin', she says, real timid-like, "Mildred, I hope that you don't think that I distrust you, because—" I cut her off real quick, "That's all right, Mrs. E, I understand. 'Cause, if I paid anybody as little as you pay me, I'd hold my pocketbook, too!"

Marge, you fool. . . . Lookout! You gonna drop the beans on the floor!

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH PLAN

Nobody likes Dr. Ike's medicine

FEW were satisfied last week with President Eisenhower's health program for the nation. To most, it was wholly inadequate; extreme conservatives saw it as a wedge toward "socialized medicine"; private health insurance organizations, to whom it was mainly directed, were lukewarm. It seemd headed for the same fate as a similar Eisenhower program last year, which was shelved in the Senate and killed in the House by a vote of 238 to 134 to send it back to committee. Said Joseph Curran, chairman of the CIO Social Security Committee:

"The President's proposals will not help provide comprehensive protection for the many millions of persons with moderate incomes who cannot afford the high and rising costs of pre-payment medical care plans, with all their many limitations. Only national health insurance can solve the problems of this large group."

Comprehensive national health insurance, with medical bills to be paid out of a Federal fund accumulated through a payroll tax, was proposed early in the New Deal and finally dropped under the Truman administration. But Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), co-sponsor of the original New Deal bill, has introduced it at every Congress since and again this year has dropped it into the hopper.

MAJOR PROBLEMS UNMET: Highlight of the Eisenhower program is a plan for the government to establish a "reinsurance service to encourage private health insurance organizations in offering broader benefits to insured individuals and families, and coverage to more people." But the labor-supported Committee for the Nation's Health finds that neither the President's message nor the budget provides "Federal aid for the facilities needed to expand and to improve the best types of health insurance"; it concludes its analysis:

"The President's health program can be described as incompetent to meet the major problems of medical costs and wholly insufficient to deal with the 'gaps and shortages' in health facilities and personnel."

Even the N. Y. Times found the reinsurance proposal "far from adequate":

"In the first place, reinsurance does not add a penny to the working capital needed by insurance agencies to organize or to increase the number of their subscribers and the scope of the coverage after they get going. Nor does it help to reduce the prices they have to charge for the protection they give. . . . Reinsurance offers no help to the 60,000,000 people in the U. S. who now have no protection at all through existing insurance agencies."

THE NEED & THE MENACE: Some 100,000,000 persons are now covered to some extent by existing private health insurance organizations, but the protection for most is extremely limited. Such insurance pays less than 15% of the total annual medical bill, which last year soared to $10 billion. Only 3% of the persons covered enjoy anything approaching complete protection; only one family out of four earning under $2,500 a year has any protection at all.

The AFL News-Reporter dismissed the President's program as "another smokescreen":

"What is needed is not a program to reinsure the insurance companies but one to meet the needs of the people."

In his message on health, Eisenhower said he is against disease and disability because they provide "a fertile field for the spread of communism"; earlier he had described his program as "the logical alternative to socialized medicine."

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From an article on Stanley C. Allyn, president of Natl. Cash Register Co. of Dayton, O., in National Biographic, published by the American Institute of Management and distributed in schools.

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—Cedric Belfrage, editor, National Guardian.

★

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—Rev. Wm. F. Baird, Chicago.

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• If only there were some way to vastly increase the circulation of publications such as the AMERICAN SOCIALIST so as to provide the public with facts not propaganda; with courage and good will and light, rather than hatred, dissension and blind reaction.
—Charles C. Cook, Detroit Atty. in Radulovich Case.

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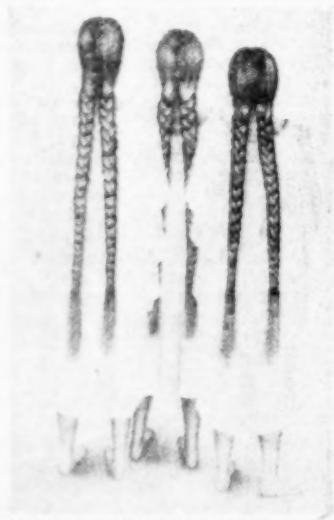

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Matusow story

(Continued from Page 1)

pear again before the grand jury on Feb. 9.

Matusow first revealed himself as a false witness when a sworn affidavit was submitted on Jan. 28 in the case of Clinton Jencks. Jencks, an officer of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, was convicted a year ago in El Paso, Tex., on two counts of violating the non-Communist oath provision of the Taft-Hartley law. Matusow swore he lied at the trial.

COHN IMPLICATED: A similar affidavit was filed three days later in New York; in it Matusow swore not only that he lied at the trial of the 13 Communist leaders but that Roy Cohn, then an assistant U. S. Attorney and later chief counsel for Sen. McCarthy's committee, helped him fabricate his testimony.

The Washington **Post** on Feb. 6 reported that these revelations, and reports of the forthcoming book, "caused consternation behind the scenes in the Justice Dept. and on Capitol Hill." Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), new chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—one of Matusow's first forums—said on Feb. 3 he was "thoroughly convinced this man has always been a Communist" and must have been a "plant." But the Washington **Post** pointed out:

> "If that were true, it would mean that a cocky young man whose career indicates a good deal of shrewdness but no great intellectual prowess had succeeded in completely defrauding the top Red investigators of both the legislative and executive branches of Government."

By Feb. 7 Rep. Walter allowed that Matusow may have "tipped the scales" against innocent persons and if that were so, "there must be another trial."

JENNER'S ALL HOT: Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee announced that the committee had subpenaed Matusow, but has twice since postponed his appearance, now set for Feb. 15. But Jenner was most insistent that Matusow's publishers be investigated.

The Justice Dept. itself was officially silent on the Matusow affair until Feb. 7, when Atty. Gen. Brownell promised a "vigorous" inquiry and said he had placed newly-appointed Asst. Atty. Gen. William F. Tompkins, head of the Department's newly-created Internal Security Division, in personal charge of the case. Brownell, who complained that the Matusow affidavits "have become the subject of world-wide Communist propaganda," said the investigation will be pursued until "all of the facts are ascertained." In reporting this move, the Washington **Post** commented that "Matusow's claims . . . have put the Justice Dept. in the unusual position of trying to find out when its own witness was telling the truth."

SOBELL GROUP ACTS: Following the Matusow disclosures, the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell urged that his case be reopened. It said new doubts were cast on his trial because of the Matusow accusations against Roy Cohn, one of the prosecutors in the Rosenberg case, of which Sobell was a part.

Another case directly affected is that of Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern expert and former adviser to the State Dept., now under indictment for perjury. In a Feb. 3 interview with Movietone News Matusow said:

> "In false testimony, I accused Owen Lattimore of writing books that carried the official Communist Party line, when actually I had no knowledge of that."

Two key counts in the original indictment of Lattimore were thrown out by Federal Judge Luther Youngdahl; when the government re-indicted him, the Judge again dismissed the key counts. The government has now appealed this decision in spite of the Matusow confession.

"THE SHABBY BUSINESS": Although the Justice Dept. is seeking to defend its use of paid informers, much press

Herblock in Washington Post

"Boss, I don't think he wants me in there."

comment has been bitterly critical of the practice. Said the Washington **Post** on Feb. 2:

> "Harvey Matusow's self-exposure as a false witness should have surprised nobody—and least of all the Dept. of Justice. . . . It should have been evident that Mr. Matusow was a man of dubious reliability and uncertain character. The experience of many generations has taught a lesson which everyone concerned with the administration of justice should have learned—that political informers are often unsavory, unstable persons. . . .
>
> "How many Americans have been unjustly convicted on the basis of Matusow's perjured testimony? How many others have been sent to prison or condemned before Congressional investigating committees by other former Communist perjurers who like Matusow decided to make witnessing a lucrative career?"

The N. Y. **Times** commented (2/5):

> "The shabby business of the paid professional informer, which has reached new dimensions under governmental encouragement during the past few years, has been given a blow by one of the well-known practitioners of the art who now says he has been lying all along. . . . What it does do is to require the Justice Dept. to re-examine all the cases in which this man's testimony did play a significant part. It is essential in the interests of elementary fairness that the effect of Matusow's worthless testimony be erased from every case in which he was seriously involved."

Willard Shelton, **CIO News** columnist, saw Matusow's confession as a sign of a "crackup in the ranks of the anti-Communist political racketeers" and said such an event "will be a joyful one."

PRESS BEDLAM: The Matusow press conference on Feb. 3 was a rough and disorderly affair. Several representatives of the press who specialize in red-hunting activities and who in the past have depended upon Matusow for "inside" information behaved as though he had betrayed them personally. They dominated the questioning and at times heckled so loudly that the room was in an uproarious din.

Matusow insisted that he is now telling the truth, promised to back up much of his story with documents, and said: "I stand behind the affidavits."

Natl. Press Club admits its first Negro member

On Feb. 4 in Washington the Natl. Press Club voted 377 to 281 to admit Louis R. Lautier, Negro correspondent, to membership. Lautier, correspondent for the Atlanta **Daily World**, is a member of the Congressional Press Galleries and the White House Correspondents Assn. No Negro before had been admitted to the Press Club.

Usually new members are admitted by action of the board of governors. If the board tentatively approves admissions and there is no objection by ten or more active members, the approval usually becomes final. The election by secret ballot was the first in the memory of club members. Feeling ran high and the vote was the heaviest in the club's history.

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NEW YORK'S SENIOR CITIZENS

The Staten Island Farm colony: How our aged live out their days

By Elmer Bendiner

THE old man said: "I've got a good bed to sleep in, clean clothes and a bath once a week. When it gets warmer I might take a ramble into the city. I can't kick."

He sat on a cane chair beside his neatly made-up bed in a row of alternating beds and lockers. The dormitory, bare, institutionally orderly, resembled an army barracks. It is one of a row of frame buildings built in 1928 to last ten years until more permanent quarters could be erected. The Staten Island Farm colony, a gentle word for New York City's old-age home, still uses them.

FINISHED AT 50: The old man came to the Farm colony in 1950—but for ten years before then he had been in and out of hospitals. His working days ended in 1940 when he walked off the Third Av. trolley cars in a strike that tied up the system that year. He and 250 others lost their jobs. He was only 50 then but it was his last job.

At 65 he is a "patient" at the Farm. (The Farm is under the Dept. of Hospitals, which shows in the terminology, the hours and the food.) He rises with the others at 7 and queues up at the Klondike—the Farm's mess hall. After breakfast the men linger at the Klondike for a morning smoke; the lucky ones go off to "work assignments," of which there are 14 paying $20 a month each, 34 paying $10. (Official language bans the terms "job" and "pay," lists the money as "donations.")

MEMORIES OF COLOR: Some make beds in the dormitories, help set table at the Klondike. One old man cherishes his spot in the little library with its shelves of tattered volumes donated to the Farm. The librarian records in a notebook the reading tastes of his fellow-patients, delivers each morning books he thinks they will like. He thumbed his notebook for this reporter and summed up: "Cowboys and mysteries are popular but most like love stories. Second childhood, I guess."

Some go to the shop to make chairs or cane them or weave rugs. A lone artist paints canvases of remembered or imagined gardens bright with flowers. The things they make are sold; part of the proceeds goes to buy equipment for the shop, part to the craftsmen. In the quiet of the shop each man seems almost alone though he works around a large table with his fellow patients.

HOW MANY CASKETS?

Michael Keenan, 55, his children Maureen, 7, Dennis, 3, and stepson Charles Westerblade, 16, are carried from Holy Martyrs Church, Brooklyn, after funeral services. The Keenans died when their kerosene heater exploded in their overcrowded cold-water tenement apartment. They were four of 14 deaths from such causes in five days in the city. N. Y. and Buffalo were given a free hand by the State to legislate against "kerosene killers"; but one week after the Keenans died the pressure for quick action had slackened. Only one thing could stop the grim parade of caskets: new public housing.

THE LONG DAY: The patients draw oddly-assorted clothing from a depot when they need it; it is serviceable and warm, with a cast-off look. Some men tie bits of cloth around their shoes to keep the dampness out, though the Farm shoe-repair shop is kept busy.

On sunny days some men make a stab at a shuffleboard painted on the sidewalk; some hobble out on brief strolls; most sit by their beds and smoke. They queue up early at the Klondike for lunch at 10:30. In the afternoon, until 4:30 supper, some occupy themselves with their ailments at the clinic; a few sit in the forlorn auditorium watching TV or movies, or staring into space. Each man gets a ration of tobacco or candy at a store like a post exchange. Those who work get an extra ration by way of bonus.

A SHADOW OF HOME: The women, well or ill, are in the hospital buildings. The well ones have a dark green curtain to draw around the bed, chair and dresser, giving a shadow of a home, a remnant of individuality. They group pictures of their children, flowers. One spreads a brightly-colored souvenir shawl from Panama over her pillow. Some listen to portable radios.

The women eat in the hospital mess. In their day rooms some sit all afternoon and evening staring silently at TV sets, each ticketed as a donation from the Arthur Murray Dance Studios.

Staten Island ladies periodically organize birthday parties for the women, bring cakes, cookies and ice cream. Public school glee clubs come to entertain. The ice cream and the singing aren't important, an official said: "The old girls like to see the children and talk to them."

THE BETTER TIME: There were "good old days" at the Farm when the WPA sent trained people there to make life meaningful. WPA instructors set up classes in reading and writing English for the foreign-born; musicians organized bands and art classes and brought back nimbleness to fingers growing stiff. Large WPA canvases still hang in the workshop but there are no more such programs. Miss Miriam Coates, director of social service, and her three assistants can do no more than handle the patients' routine personal problems.

WPA paved roads on the Farm, renovated some of the old dormitories built in 1912-1914, but died before its work was done; some men still sleep in bleak stone buildings repaired but basically unchanged in 40 years.

Asst. Supt. Joseph D. Keeney, a hearty, businesslike man, has raised his four children on the Farm (they lend a touch of gayety to the patients' lives). He and Miss Coates talked of what the Farm lacked and what it might be. Its 40 buildings, spread over 104 acres, accommodate 1,206 patients. In the infirmary there are 288 men, 169 women; under "custodial care," 549 men, 120 women. There are no vacancies in the infirmary and very few in the custodial division. All must be investigated by the Welfare Dept. In some cases relatives pay for the patients' keep: $3 a day for custodial care, $6 in the hospital. Some $10,000 a year comes in that way but the funds go to the Hospital Dept., not the Farm.

THE DREAM: There are seven resident doctors and 40 nurses to handle a population always in need of medical service. Until recently there were three occupational therapists but two left to take better jobs elsewhere. (The city pays therapists $3,425 a year.) In the workshop there is a bucket on a pulley and sometimes the men try pulling it up for therapy.

The barracks-like dormitories ought to be replaced with private rooms, even if they were merely curtained cubicles as in the women's wards, but Miss Coates called that "a dream." The Farm, said its executives, needs more buildings, more beds, above all programs to restore a lost dignity to lives that once had a purpose and now seem only to have an inevitable end.

THIRD PARTY?

Gerson in forum with McManus

JOHN T. McMANUS, the GUARDIAN's general manager, and Simon W. Gerson will discuss "Independent Political Action and the Third Party Question" at the Jefferson School of Social Science on Sunday, Feb. 20, at 8 p.m. McManus recently published a call for a conference to ensure "a national independent political party on the ballot in the 1956 Presidential elections." Gerson is legislative director of the N. Y. State CP.

Gerson, while seeing the historic necessity for a farmer-labor party, has stressed the urgent need, at this time, to develop "the widest **independent** political activity by labor and the Negro people" on a coalition basis within the Democratic Party.

Guardian Night at revue Mar. 31

THERE will be a Guardian Theater Night Thursday, March 31, for a bright new topical revue entitled **Watch the Birdie!** The revue will star dancer Sono Osata and comedians Zero Mostel and Jack Gilford. The performance will be at the Barbizon Plaza Theater. Tickets are now available; for reservations write: Guardian Theater Party, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7, N. Y. Prices: Orchestra, $5.50 and $6.50; mezzanine, $5.

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FRI., FEB. 18, 8:30 P.M.
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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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"Culture in the Freedom Struggle of the Negro People."
An evening of stories, poems, songs, dances, piano, celebrating Negro History Week. With Beulah Richardson, Alan Booth, Bill Robinson, and others. Jefferson School, 575 6 Av., Sun., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. $1.

CHILDREN'S PARTY with puppeteers, games, singing, refreshments. Sun., Feb. 20, 2:30-4:30 p.m. For Ages 3-10. Adm. 25c (adults free). Jefferson School, 575 6th Av.

Hear DR. HERSHEL MEYER, author, "Last Illusion," "Must We Perish?" talk on "Co-existence, Crucial Struggle of Our Age." Sun., Feb. 13, 8:15 p.m. ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Cont. 50c.

SUNDAY FORUM—Feb. 20, 8 p.m. Symposium: "Independent Political Action and the Third Party," with John T. McManus and Simon W. Gerson. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1. Bring your questions and your friends.

JOE'S INVITED THIS TIME!
for free if he resigns from the Senate before our party gets under way Sat. nite, Feb. 12, 8 p.m., 35 Charles St. (Village).

NEXT WEEK will be your opportunity to have the time of your life! That's when you can attend the Fourth Annual Freedom Frolic in celebration of Negro History Week on Sat., Feb. 19. Have fun with Betty Sanders, George Levine, Siboney and his orchestra and others. Door prize of new hit political record "The Investigator." This and many other happy surprises will greet you at the Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. (cor. 16th St.) Contribution: $1.25.

FLASH! Leon Bibb AND Roy Godus will both perform at the Vets for Peace Party, Sat. night, Feb. 19. 338 W. 20th St. $1 lets you in.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, Natl. Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

"AFRICA—A Dramatic Struggle of Its People in World History." Talk by RICHARD B. MOORE, pres. Frederick Douglass Book Center, in honor of Negro History Week. Thurs., Feb. 17, 8:30 p.m. Village ALP, 28 Greenwich Av. Admission: Free.

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Anti-UMT meeting

A PUBLIC meeting protesting the Universal Military Training bill will be held at 8:15 p.m. Monday, Feb. 14, at the Community Church, 35th St. at Park Av.

REPORT FROM ALBANY

'Tight' is a gentle word for the Harriman budget

By Arthur Schutzer

GOV. HARRIMAN closed his budget message with more than a hint of cuts in services: "The budget I present . . . is . . . substantially one of continuance of present programs—but under a tight rein. I shall administer it with a vigorous re-examination of activities in order to effect economical management." The N. Y. **Times** commented: "Once again it may be said, and with relief, that there is little adventurous in the new program." Message highlights include:

STATE INCOME TAX: Ends the 10% "forgiveness" cut, thus bringing in an additional $42.5 million. The original 10% cut across-the-board was grossly unfair since it applied to all incomes, high and low. Its ending was long overdue for higher-bracket incomes—but it should have been continued for incomes up to $5,000.

Harriman failed to insist on a revision of state income tax rates. The top rate is now 7%. It should be revised to 7% on incomes from $9,000 to $11,000; 8% from $11,000 to $13,000, 9% from $13,000 to $15,000 and 10% over $15,000. Assembly Leader Bannigan approved such rates only recently.

UNINCORPORATED BUSINESS TAX: Restored to 4%, after 9 years at 3%.

CORPORATION FRANCHISE TAX: Increased from 5½% to 6%, the rate in effect before 1946-47.

EDUCATION: The Democratic legislators have dropped even the formal pretense of backing an urgently-needed state bond issue for new schools. The Harriman message ignores this item completely. Harriman delays any action in increased state aid to education until the Heald Commission reports—which may take another year. The State Education Dept. is cut by $124,000. New York City gets $3.5 million for emergency aid in teaching non-English-speaking children; it had asked $5 million.

(Mrs. Rose Russell, Teachers Union legislative representative, called the Governor's recommendations "a bitter disappointment to teachers and parents" and warned: "Teachers will not take this blow with patience and fortitude, for these attributes have been well nigh used up." The TU had asked $40 million in interim state aid. Several teachers' organizations have set Feb. 21 for a mass lobby in Albany.)

RENT CONTROL: Funds for State Rent Commission cut by $200,000—further crippling already weak enforcement.

LOCAL ASSISTANCE FOR HEALTH: Cut by $1.3 million.

AID TO N. Y. C.: The N. Y. **Times** summed up: "New York City must be content with scraps, and will be a large contributor of the new tax revenues the Democratic Governor seeks." Actually, under Harriman's budget the city gets a smaller percentage (41.6%) of state aid to localities than it did under Dewey (42.3%).

The great danger in this new Harriman-Wagner accord is that the problem of more money for N. Y. C. will be solved, not by increased state funds, but by new local taxes hitting N. Y. C. consumers and wage-earners. For example, on Feb. 2, 1955, Wagner asked the legislature to make the city 3% sales tax permanent. There are signs, too, that N. Y. C. may soon put into effect its power, granted by the legislature but not yet used, to tax the weekly paycheck of every worker and to tax overnight parking.

ESTATE TAX: Fails to raise rates on large inheritances, reduced several years ago.

MOTOR FUEL TAX: Increased from 4 to 6c per gallon on regular motor fuel, from 6 to 9c on diesel fuel, effective April 1, 1955. Auto owners are hit again, on top of the auto use tax which was supposed to be repealed this year but appears instead to have become a permanent local levy.

STOCK TRANSFER TAX: Harriman estimates the yield for 1955-56 as $7 million less than that for 1954-55, although the stock market has been booming with sales.

Harriman's budget is $84.1 million less than requested by department agency heads. He calls it "extraordinarily tight."

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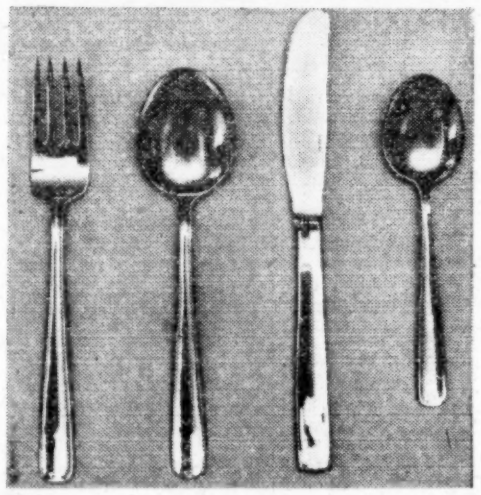

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In addition, large companies spend millions in advertising and merchandising through wholesalers, jobbers, distributors and retailers and tack this on to the price so there is a handsome profit to all. Guardian Buying Service gets its model direct from the importer and saves these costs.

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the SPECTATOR

The song of opportunity

LAST month an extraordinary thing happened in America: no less than three Negroes appeared in leading roles in opera. On Jan. 7, contralto Marian Anderson as the fortune-teller in Verdi's **Masked Ball** became the first of her race to sing a major role at the Metropolitan. Three weeks later baritone Robert McFerrin sang the Ethiopian Amonasro in the Met's **Aida.** On Jan. 23, soprano Leontyne Price sang the title-role of **Tosca** over NBC's unsponsored Opera Theater.

IRA ALDRIDGE
The Bard still waits

Greeted by critics as the best show in six years, the NBC program was one of the nation's first opportunities in big-time entertainment to enjoy a Negro artist's talent in something other than a "Negro role." It caps a long struggle by Negro artists for a place in "serious theater."

DO NOT DISTURB: When an all-Negro troupe performed Shakespeare and other classics in N.Y.'s Greenwich Village in the early 1820's, they were ordered to stop their "likely cause for disturbance." (They continued to insert scenes from **Richard II** and **Hamlet** between comedy acts.) In Europe the great American Negro tragedian Ira Aldridge played Romeo and many other Shakespearean roles besides his most famous Othello. Not until after the Civil War could Negroes portray themselves in the century's two biggest box-office attractions, **Uncle Tom's Cabin** and the minstrel show. To succeed in the latter they had to accept the "comic" stereotype established by the first white minstrel—a Negro's imitation of the white man's Negro.

Most famous among a handful of Negro women singers whose artistry cracked the barrier before 1900 was Sissieretta Jones, called the "Black Patti," who sang before President Harrison in the White House. In 1892 the Met signed her for **Aida** and **L'Africane,** but when the performances never materialized, she sang her operatic arias as part of a Broadway variety show.

Following a provoked Broadway riot in 1900, Negro actors were virtually banned there. But during their exile, they gained valuable experience in serious roles with Harlem little theaters like the Lafayette and its four road companies. They performed downtown hits for a Negro audience, and some of the first plays of Negro life—including one on Harlem's terrible housing. Returning to Broadway, Negro entertainers chose as their medium jazz and blues, to the permanent enrichment of American music.

TOGETHER: The Federal Theater and dramas of the Thirties first portrayed Negro and white workers fighting social evils together. What had been a struggle by individual Negro artists, to make themselves so good that they had to be recognized by the white entertainment world, became a joint struggle for Negroes and whites in and out of the theater for a true representation of the Negro in American culture. One of the earliest targets was jimcrowed audiences. When Washington's National Theater at first refused to seat Negroes for **Green Pastures** and then set a special Negro performance for Sundays only, the all-Negro cast refused to play and, sparked by the NAACP, Washingtonians refused to buy tickets. The National was forced to play for six weeks to a mixed audience. Although the theater returned to its old policy, the battle continued for 20 years. In 1948 Actors' Equity refused to let its members play there to an all-white audience. Recently the theater's new management ended the barrier.

The refusal in 1939 by the Daughters of the American Revolution to let Marian Anderson sing in Washington's Constitution Hall, which they owned, became a hot national issue. Protests poured in from everywhere; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt publicly resigned from the DAR, and Jascha Heifetz refused to fiddle there. Surrounded by Supreme Court justices, cabinet members and Congressmen, Miss Anderson, who had already sung in the White House, gave her concert before 75,000 at the Lincoln Memorial.

HOW DO THE AUDIENCES RESPOND? The end of World War II brought several fine plays on race relations, and interracial casts in some musicals. The late Canada Lee played in white-face in **The Duchess of Malfi,** Camilla Williams sang in the City Center Opera's **Madame Butterfly,** and Janet Collins became the Met's prima ballerina last year.

How does an audience, particularly in the South, take to such a policy? On the Leontyne Price program, NBC's publicity dept. reported about 150 phone calls in N.Y., all but 17 voicing high praise; of 150 letters, ten were complaints. Of ten NBC outlets in the South polled by the N.Y. **Post,** four didn't carry the program, claiming other local commitments, and the six which did had no flood of angry calls.

In 1947 playwright Theodore Ward linked the "effort to exclude the Negro from the higher-paid brackets in several fields of art" to "the economic compulsion to maintain the Negro people in a state of semi-serfdom and as a reservoir of cheap labor power. . . ." The effort was never backed by most Americans, and the victories beginning to be won in the long fight against it show their consciousness of the extent to which it has impoverished American culture.

—Ione Kramer